1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1939) 1948 M529 Yokuts M529

[p.76]

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

The tribes living in the swampy territory around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a Yokuts culture which differed in many respects from that of the foothill and hill people. The divergence was not merely that due to a fundamentally different ecological background; it was manifest also in their dichotomous social organization and ceremonial practices. The lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts of Kings River and northward, and with the Wowol to the south rather than toward the eastward hills.

The localities and intertribal relations of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,[75] and to his information we have little to add. Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from childhood scenes, was unable to formulate precise information on her native village region. The need for two interpreters to translate her conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to English) did not add clarity. The Chunut informant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was unclear on local topography, whereas her knowledge of names and locations of distant tribes was remarkably accurate. The information obtained from these two women has been added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local Map A (map 2).

According to M.G. there was no intercamp or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights, existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes living north of Kings River, known collectively to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho'ŝima, northerners). The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people attempted to come into Tachi territory for seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and made them go back." The Chunut did not fight the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut informant's account, p. 9).

The Tachi were on friendly terms with all the groups bordering on the lake, but particularly with the Wowol who came as far north as the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied the balsas to tules and slept on them at night. The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the shells from the To'kya (Salinan), who lived at ču'lama,[76] near the ocean, and far west and

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[75] Handbook, 474-486.

[76] A Salinan site on Chalone Creek, an upper tributary of the Salinas River.

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
436 Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded these to their inland neighbors. Usually the buyer made them up into money: this was what the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi villages to trade with the Wowol, but no farther south, as Yi´nɛl was the most southern Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
574 visit but not to trade (sic). They, the Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi mourning ceremonies at Telwe´yɛt. The Gawia did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telweyɛt
115 was on the edge of the lake south of the present town of Lemoore. An important chief there was Luču´ši. The informant M.G. was born there; after her marriage she moved "a little east up the river [Kings?] to a village called Gaiwɔ´šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake which extended as far as the Coast Range and was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju´i. (Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.) There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
361 ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less intimate view of the situation makes it seem unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol, and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi and Nutunutu as allies against the combined Chunut and Wowol. Telweyɛt, a Tachi village, was at Summit Lake. At Woko´n were a series of camps among which the Tachi moved, especially when one camp had been visited by death. J.A. named Hono´tan (to stop suddenly) and či´yi (bones) as two important Nutunutu villages, both near Kingston. Čiyi is undoubtedly Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli´kɛs, nicknamed Nai'nai´'i'ɛs (Squint-eye) because he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
131 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their land extended eastward almost to the present site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A. pronounces pi´aras, a pronunciation I believe is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut territory (čunu´tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mike´yɛt; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
131 frequently walked over to the ocean across the mountains to the west, provided relations were

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

103 4. tɛlwe´yɨt: a Tachi village
5. ugonə
131 6. hono´tan (to stop suddenly): a Nutunutu village
7. či´yi (bones): probably Kroeber's Chiau, a Nutunutu village
8. gaiwa šiu: a Tachi village
9. wai´u
10. u´djiu
11. go´lon
12. či
13. yi´mɛl
14. waita´čuiyui
15. pi´sras (Pierce's Ranch?): a modern rancheria
16. č'iu´ta
17. witɨtsolo´wɨn: a Wowol island village
18. wa´lna
19. yiwo´mni: a Wowol village
20. sukwu´tnu: a Wowol village[26]

Two places not definitely located were: 21, wo´kon; 22, mike´yɨt, a "bottomless" pond near the present city of Tulare.

Warfare

578 According to J.A., who says she derived much of her knowledge from an old Wowol woman now dead, the Chunut and Wowol were particularly friendly and both were on bad terms with two [20] allies to their north, the Tachi and Nutunutu. Signal fires were built on occasion, and warnings and arrangements for battle were made. [727] Doctors were particularly sought out as victims in a battle, and vengeance was wreaked by flaying and impaling their corpses. Head-taking was practised as well as flaying.

701 There was no war chief, nor did an ordi-
624 nary chief take any special part in battles, though the account secured by Newman (see below)
726 indicates the contrary. Any brave man, particularly one with Raven (ho´toi) as a supernatural helper, would lead war expeditions. Rarely
726 were more than two or three persons killed. J.A. thinks the bodies remained unburied (which
[727] seems unlikely unless the losers were completely routed). She disclaims knowledge of motives for war.

That battles were frequently prearranged is clear from J.A.'s statement, Newman's account, and the account of a battle between the Pitanisha and Altinin.[27] This does not preclude a sudden flare-up such as that described by J.A. when two doctors found themselves unwelcome among the Nutunutu. A certain captiousness or predisposition to fight is suggested in two Yauelmani tales, wherein a mere shout in

[26] Possibly the Wowol village called "Bubal" by early Spanish explorers (Gayton, Estudillo, 70 ff.); some further information on Southern Valley sites is contained in Wedel's Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake (particularly pp. 12-17).

[27] Kroeber, The Yokuts Language, 274.

584 time the betrothal took place. Whenever a rift between the couple was apparent, they sought by
578 conversation or argument with the young couple to mend it. Of her own volition, or at the in-
584 stigation of the man's parents, the girl's mother would scold her if the fault were the girl's, the young man's mother reprimanding her son, if he were to blame. Laziness and coquetry on the part of the girl or failure as a provider of meat and excessive gambling on the part of the man were the usual causes of trouble.

595 Two wives were not uncommon, but all in-
[554] formants agree that it was only a chief, shaman, or man of prestige who was likely to have them functioning on an equal status in the same menage. They were usually domiciled separately, but within the same village group. When a man lived with two women of separate villages, one or the other wife would be in a superior position with respect to the man's provision of food and wood and the amount of time he spent in her home and in attention to her children. A second wife was sought if the first were sterile or incapacitated by illness or age, or merely because the husband desired another feminine companion.

Three wives have been heard of, but M.L. claimed that a third wife would be resented by the first two. This opinion was undoubtedly based on the experience of her mother's brother who, having two wives, sought a third. The un-
[579] fortunate prospect was severely beaten by the two wives, and their husband abandoned his courtship.

One case of polyandry was reported: M.L. said her father's sister "had two men at the same time and they all slept together." Polyandry was also known to the Entimbich; in both groups no opprobrium was attached.[544]

586 Divorce, while hindered by the coöperative pressure of the couple's parents and relatives, took place if a woman were sterile yet fought against a second wife, if either spouse were slothful, or for intolerable incompatibility. "A man didn't like a woman to be dirty or one who talked all the time" (M.L.).[545] "A woman has to keep her food baskets right" (M.P.). "A man can't gamble all his money all the time. Some things he had to buy, like a good bow to get food for his children" (M.L.).

When the couple separated, the woman took all her clothing, utensils, and bedding if she went home. Usually, when a couple separated, a man left his wife in possession of their house if it were he who was in the wrong or who wanted his freedom and if she had more than two

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[544] Merriam, The Em'-tim'-bitch, 498; cf. Park, Paviotso Polyandry; Stewart, Northern Paiute Polyandry.

[551] [545] A Mobonuch chatterbox was nicknamed Wedawe'dna (i.e., in comparable American slang, "blah-blah"); two husbands left her.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 126 a] Wukchumni

769 ants might appear at any ceremony: Wukchumni,
648 Gawia, Yokod, Yaudanchi, Tachi, Wechihit,
Choinuk, Chunut, Telamni, Wolasi (all Yokuts);
also Waksachi, Patwisha, Entimbich, and Wobo-
nuch, the last two but recently and rarely (all
Western Mono). (It is to be noted that the
[578] hostile Tachi and Nutunutu were omitted from
the list as given by J.P.; the list is corrobo-
rated, of course, by other informants and much
indirect evidence.)

When, in 1819, Estudillo traveled through Yokuts territory, he found members of the following tribes in attendance at a mourning ceremony at Chischa, a group neighboring to or in Wukchumni territory:[276] Choinuk (whose "captain and greater number of inhabitants ... were at Chischa 8 leagues away"), Apalame (in foothills but exact locality uncertain), the Nutunutu, and the Telamni (of whom only 14 old women and 9 old men had remained at home). (The Chunut, however, and some Wowol had gone south to attend a similar ceremony at Buena Vista rancheria in the southern end of the valley.) Undoubtedly representatives of other tribes were there of whom Estudillo naturally remained unaware since this was the first entrada into the Central Foothill area.

769 The organization and administration of the
624 ceremony lay in the hands of one or two of-
571 ficials who functioned only on such occasions,
the yate´´ač or "dance managers." Not all in-
formants agree whether this was a regular of-
ficial or not; perhaps only larger tribes had
need of them. They were the "bosses" of the
winatums who, both male and female, were worked
to the utmost in their responsibility of pro-
viding shelter, water, firewood and, above all,
[417] sufficient food for the crowds. Around the
assembly space were erected long shades, with
back screens if needed, under which the visi-
tors camped in tribal clusters. Theoretically
the reciprocants[277] were camped opposite the
hosts, the other visitors at each end; infor-
mants were indefinite as to how far this plan
was followed. In the families of the winatums
all members helped: the older winatums saw
that there was sufficient food and generally
directed activities, while their sons supplied
wood and water and carried messages, and their
wives and daughters prepared and cooked food.
The visiting winatums, particularly those of
the reciprocants, helped also, but the hosts
paid for their services just as they paid their
own winatums. The preparation and organization
175 of these affairs for a large tribe like the
769 Wukchumni were no mean task. Estudillo speaks
of this at Chischa.[278]

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[276] Gayton, Estudillo, 73-75.

[277] Ceremonial or "washing" reciprocant tribe, not the financial reciprocants.

[278] Gayton, Estudillo, 74.

[P. 1476] Choinimni

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

534 Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La´hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[837] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[302] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[148] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´kač; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

302 Paint.---White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´´iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´won) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called se´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´k:l (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 160a] Kechyi

726 Now some Monachi [Eastern Mono] had come
648 over the mountains: their chief had told them
252 to "go over and kill those people like birds." While the Yokuts men were away, the Monachi surrounded the women's camp. One man came closer to spy. He saw the women cracking the acorns with their teeth and thought they were eating. He went back and reported this. Several times he came close to spy and each time saw the women putting the nuts to their mouths: he "thought they just ate all day long."

726 Next morning the Yokuts men went out very
648 early to knock down more acorns. They found a series of stakes, with feather bunches (so n:1) tied to their tops, which had been set up by the Monachi.[48] They knew the Monachi were near by, so they returned to camp and sent the women off. The women fled across the river [San Joaquin], leaving everything behind. The men went in pursuit of the Monachi. Their camp was located, and the Monachi were found asleep. Rushing in, the Yokuts killed all of them, save one man who smeared himself with his comrades' blood and pretended he was dead. Later on this man went back to his village and reported events to his chief. The chief was very angry; he determined on revenge.

Soon after that a Yokuts was working for a white man and was sent up into the mountains with some hogs. Some Monachi lurking about on this side of the ridge saw him; they came down to him and asked him who he was. When it was time for the Yokuts man to return to the valley, his employer warned him not to make the trip alone. But the man was anxious to get back home and went anyway. The Monachi were ambushed along the way and killed the man and his horse.

423 There was no mark of ownership on land or trees or seed-areas, but a woman would verbally designate certain trees or grass spots as hers and would "growl" if some other woman took the products therefrom ahead of her. Her com-
● [578] plaints would be on the personal level, and would not be taken to the chief under ordinary circumstances. Sometimes arguments between
[624] women did grow into family feuds, which the chief attempted to control by counsel. There was a tacit, traditional ownership among families, and in the larger sense among tribes, of desirable land and its concomitant hunting, fishing, and seed-gathering assets. The family "ownership" operated to the extent that a young married woman continued to gather vegetable products with her own mother, rather than with her mother-in-law. This was regardless of
[428] matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and surely led to inheritance of such plots, even though inheritance was not defined in set terms by any Yokuts people.

619 It is clear from the account given above,
222 that people from several tribes might be camped

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[48] The exact nature of these K.H. could not define: they may be such stakes as those the Tachi informant, M.G., had in mind when she described boundary markers (see Tachi, Pt. I).

787 A doctor's animal helper was a living one,
825 not a spiritual representative. He could not
kill any animal of that breed. One actual
756 animal, however, such as a coyote, could belong
to or serve more than one shaman, N.W. thought.
787 She did not know whether white people
dreamed in this way but opined that they might,
especially if they "believed that way." "The
Chinese do." Also L.W. had a white friend who
dreamed that way (of animals ?) when she was a
little girl.

Shaman's Cache

756 The shaman's cache was attributed only to
778 rain shamans by N.W., but the beliefs she de-
scribed concerning it and the dangerous nature
556 of a doctor's paraphernalia were similar to
those held by other Yokuts groups. According
to her, a rain shaman kept his outfit within a
large rock. He would talk to the rock, which
would open so he could get his things. Each
doctor had his own place; his things would be
in a basket set in a hole in the rock which he
had created by means of his power. The opening
thereto was not palpable to others: "You could
go over that rock a thousand times and not find
the place." If an ordinary person wants to
[788] touch a shaman's paraphernalia, he must safe-
guard himself by rubbing his hands with worm-
weed: "Then it doesn't hurt you."

Poisoners

578 Malicious use of poisonous medicines was
682 made by some people who knew the secrets. Once
someone rubbed poison on a dress N.W. had hang-
278 ing on a clothesline. When she put on the
dress, it made sores. This affliction cannot be
cured by means of sucking. It is hard to cure
now (method ?). If some evil woman had some of
that poisonous medicine, she might tell someone
else, like L.W. to go and kill a certain person
with it. L.W. would have to do it or she her-
se)f would die (at the poisoner's hands ?).
Even today these people (poisoners) are feared
although no poisonings have occurred "since a
long time ago."

Rain Shamans

791 The art of rain-making was learned from a
living rain shaman, although dreaming was an
essential part of success. A father usually
taught one of his sons and left him his outfit
when he died.

There was an old man named Sokst at
[787] O'Neals who made rain.[265] N.W. saw him when he
was getting his power. He dreamed, not of

[265] He was the grandfather of Mandy Lewis.

W Y 769 returned, all ate breakfast. This was repeated again before sundown. During these days S.O. and B.O. remained quietly indoors, S.O. frequently talking in consoling terms to B.O., telling him that this was the end of our sorrow."

On the sixth [Saturday] night they had the "cry dance." For this B.O. had a doll made of crossed sticks covered with a little blanket; to it was fastened a tiny basket and bead belt to denote its sex. All those present were divided into two groups who represented the mourners and the visitors or gu''i, i.e., the reciprocal "washers." The reciprocating tribe W for the Waksachi was normally the Wukchumni, ●Y but none of these people came, though invited, ●[578] owing to a quarrel between the Pohots and Tillie Wilcox over a piece of land. [Even in 1927 S.O. still regretted their absence, shaking his head and saying "they should have been there."] The mourning group remained in the house. These were: B.O., S.O., Jim Wilcox, Tillie Wilcox, Joe Wilcox, Dinky, Mary Sanwaihat, and Claude Osborn. The visitors outside were: Claude's wife Minnie (the eldest Wilcox daughter), Samson Dick, his sister Nellie, his wife Kohoi n:k, and his daughter Maggie, and two genealogically unidentified people, Lucia and Ed Hunter. The winatum from Dunlap, Buffalo Bill, built a fire outdoors near which the visitors sat. Twice during the night the mourning group emerged and circuited the fire. On the second trip an impasse arose over the disposal of the doll "because the right people weren't there to give it to." Finally B.O. "gave Jim [Wilcox] a dollar to burn the doll up and talk to it."[198] Jim put the doll on the fire and said, "Now all is over. We have made this dance for you. Now I put you on the fire and I will never remember you any more." Then the mourners returned to the house, while those outside began to prepare their breakfast, for it was nearly morning.

W Y 769 783 Then Tillie and Dinkey [mourners] "got a basket full of water for S.O. and washed B.O. for him" [because of S.O.'s blindness]. But S.O. stood by and did the appropriate talking, telling B.O. "that he could do as he pleased from now on" [lay aside all mourning restraint]. Then B.O. went to S.O. "with a little basket of water and the new shirt and trousers." He washed S.O. and spoke to him in the same terms. Then he gave S.O. the clothes, basket, and $5.00. Then, "since there was no real gu'i there, B.O. had to wash all those who had stayed in the house with him during the night. He gave them each a dollar or two."

Thereupon the mourning group put together a sum of money to give to the visitors. The winatum, Buffalo Bill, was called to take the money to his group and divide it up. "And this was the last of that fandango."

W Y [556] The most important fact to come from this description was this: that this "self-washing"

[198] This is an instance of the peculiar regulations of paying. If the "right people," i.e., the Wukchumni reciprocators, had been there it would have been given to them to burn; as it was, the service had to be paid for. Why someone from the visiting group was not selected for this duty or the subsequent washing I could never discover.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

131 All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River
101 south, except perhaps the Wowol and Chunut of Tulare Lake, and at least most
619 of the adjacent Shoshoneans, were friendly and appear to have ranged over one
another's territory amicably and almost at will. The northern Yokuts were
● [578] more divided by distrusts and hostilities; definite intertribal boundaries are
known in several cases; and southern tradition speaks of invading war parties
from the north.

101 The Bokninuwad or Bokninwal (plural Bokenwadi), Garcés's Pagninoas,
131 are in native opinion so named because they had a habit of not returning to
their owners lost articles that they encountered (*bok*, "find"). They appear
to have been a smaller tribe than the neighboring and similar Yaudanchi.
Deer Creek, in the foothills, was their habitat. Here they lived at K'eyau, near
[103] the valley, and perhaps at Hoin Tiniiu ("deer's hole"), farther up, not far from
Deer Creek Hot Springs, though the Shoshonean Bankalachi seem also to have
frequented the region of the latter. The southern forks of Tule River, includ-
ing the present reservation, were in customary Bokninuwad range.

The Wükchamni, Wikchamni, or Wikchomni (plural Wükachmina or Wikatsmina), whose name was a byword for "gluttons," and who may be the Buesanet of Garcés, wintered on Kaweah River near Lemon Cove and Iron Bridge and frequented the adjacent hills in summer.

The Yokod or Yokol (plural Yuwekadi) had their principal village a dozen miles below the Wükchamni, on a flat near Kaweah railroad station, on the south side of Kaweah River, north of Exeter. Their summer range met that of the Yaudanchi about Lindsay.

The Gawia or Kawia (plural Gaweyayi or Kaweyayi), from whom Kaweah River takes its name, lived at a hill on the north side of the stream, opposite the Yokod. Their recognized northward range included Chidepuish, Calvin Hill, on Big Dry or Rattlesnake Creek. They seem to be the people whom Garcés calls Coguifa.

TRIBES OF THE KINGS RIVER GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

In this coterie the Choinimni survive to-day in the greatest, although much reduced, numbers. They were perhaps also the most populous before the white
[103] man came. Their village was the before-mentioned Tishechu, said to mean "at the gate," a place of some importance on the south side of Kings River at the mouth of Mill Creek.

The Choinimni were the Yokuts farthest up Kings River proper, Mono territory beginning some miles beyond Tishechu. Next up Mill Creek were the
[103] Michahai (plural Michahaisha or Michayisa), at Hehshinau, on the north side of the stream, on a flat at the foot of the pine-covered ridge.

Up a small affluent of Mill Creek from the south, in Squaw Valley, some 6 miles from Hehshinau, were the Chukaimina (plural Chokoyemi). These
[103] lived at Dochiu and Mashtinau, at the north and east sides of the circular valley.

Up Mill Creek, at Kicheyu near Dunlap, and at another site known as Chit'-
[103] atichi ("clover"), were the Entimbich or Indimbich (plural Enatbicha or Inadbicha). These, neighbors of the Shoshonean Wobonuch, have sometimes also been classed as Monos; but a vocabulary of their dialect establishes them as Yokuts.

Below the Choinimni on Kings River, but on the opposite side, were the
[103] Toihicha (plural Toyehachi). They lived at Tanain ("Jimson weed place"), at Hughes Creek, and at Bochiptau.

Still farther down Kings River, but this time on the south side, were the
Aiticha, Aitecha, Aititsa, Aigicha, or Ai'kicha (plural Aiyetatsi or Aiyekachi).
[103] Their village was K'ipayu, somewhat nearer to Centerville than to Tishechu.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim*, the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY
YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu*, the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

[578]

None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees*, myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

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3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

136 159 226 low in the creek. We called it *caw'-cuts*. White people call it sturgeon.

While we were at Chawlowin some white men put cattle 159 648 on the island. The water was low and they drove them across from the east. There were hogs there already, but they were wild. As soon as the white people found out we were there we began to have trouble. The tules were getting dry and we were afraid the white people would burn us out. So we all left. My mother and stepfather took us to Tejon Ranch. We went in his brother's little wagon.

YOIMUT'S STORY
OUR LAST HOME

159 361 166 From *Chaw-lo'-win*, where Alpaugh is now, we went to the Indian camp above the Tejon Ranch house. There were about two hundred Indians there. Some of them were *Wowol* (Wo'-wol) and two *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) who were related to my mother.

159 648 166 My mother had been at Tejon Ranch when she was first married. It was before the soldiers took her from Tulare Lake to the Fresno River Reservation. She was at Tejon about six months, I think. It was called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the canyon where the Indians are now, or in Grapevine Canyon where the Los Angeles highway is now. It was about three or four miles west of the ranch house, on a creek below the hills.

The soldiers lived in tents close to the Indians. I am sure of this. My mother showed me the place and told me all about it. That is the place they called Fort Tejon then. It was not up in the mountains. The Indians raised some crops of wheat there close to the hills.

When I was at Tejon Ranch we stayed up in the canyon. [578] [147] My stepfather worked on the Tejon Ranch for a while, but none of us liked it there. The Indians there did not talk our language.

There were more of our people at Tule River Reservation, so we decided to go there. The people at Tejon Ranch wanted the Indians to go to Tule River. Some went before we did. We drove along the foothills in the same little wagon we had brought from the Armona village.

My mother and some of the other Indians told me about the old *Tulamni* (Too-lahm'-ne) village at the end of the hills by the west side of Buena Vista Lake. The Indians had lots of fights with the Spanish there.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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finished. The chief was the first to enter the new sweat-house when the opening celebration was made.

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In the late spring when the time approached for the villages to break up into summer camping groups, the chief would call his people together. He would tell them that his family was moving, that he thought it was time for all of them to go, and to return at a certain time in the late summer. After this most families would leave for their camps, but their departure and return was really a matter of their own choice. Generally members of a village moved about as they pleased. If a family wanted to move away, say to another village, or ahead of time to their summer camp, they were free to do so. The head of the family might tell the chief of his plans but in doing so he was rendering a courteous gesture rather than asking for permission. On moving into another village or camping in its vicinity, the chief of that place was notified by the customary call. Persons who camped about without advising a chief in the neighborhood of their business were open to suspicion.[34]

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Beyond the guidance of ceremonial activities the chief's legal offices were few. The settlement of quarrels between individuals or families was often but not necessarily brought to the chief. Small disputes between families, quarrels between women, or between husbands and wives, or cases of divorce did not come before him. Sometimes the chief would hear of a protracted interfamily feud and would send his winatum to the parties concerned asking them to come to some agreement. But difficulties resulting in murder or serious personal injury were usually brought to his attention for settlement. If a family wanted revenge upon a malicious shaman, poisoner, or murderer to the extent of taking his life, the case had to be laid before the chief before any overt action could be taken. However, hot-headed men occasionally sought vengeance upon an enemy without consulting anyone; in such a case the culprit's family was free to retaliate. When the chief gave permission for a person who was regarded as a public enemy to be done away with, no retaliation could be taken by the victim's family. The chief, however, did not usually make a decision of this sort entirely by himself. If there were no other chiefs in the village he would ask the advice of a few venerable men. An angered man might forestall the chief's veto of his plans by consulting men whose opinion bore weight before going to the chief. Thus among the Wobonuch (WM):

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[34] See anecdote, p. 394. [35] Informant George Dick.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

622 578 627 623 Men often had their wives or daughters taken by a shaman. If a woman refused to sleep with a doctor or go off with him he would make her fall ill and die.[36] A man who knew or suspected who the doctor was that had thus victimized women of his family would take steps for revenge. Instead of going directly to the chief he would consult first the old and respected men of the village or tribe. He would go to one old man like Joe ('Merican Joe) and explain his case. If Joe thought the offended man was justified he would say so; but he would then send him on to another old man to get his advice, at the same time telling him to express his (Joe's) views. The man would go to four or five such prominent elders and have their unanimous consent to action before approaching the chief. When he went to the chief he would present his case and say that all these men had advised a certain procedure. The chief might disagree but could not refuse in the face of contrary opinion. If the vengeful man had gone to the chief first and the chief had disapproved of the proposal to kill the shaman, that would have been the end of the matter.

[683] If a man knew positively that a doctor had killed a member of his family he could take it upon himself to kill the doctor. He would just get his bow and go out and hide around until he had a chance to shoot the doctor.[37]

622 627 683 Among the southern foothill Yokuts quarrels were settled by chiefs:

In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed, and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.[38]

Among the North Fork Mono a chief gave permission for revenge upon a murderer.

Sometimes a buzzard moiety medicine man might try to poison an eagle moiety person. If the poisoner did not confess and promise to save the person, the eagle captain [chief] went after the poisoner and killed him.

The bohenup [chief] had power of putting people to death for wrong-doing. If a person is bewitched he complains to bohenup of person who he thinks bewitched him. The bohenup sends people after the wizard. They tell him there is to be a big time [as a pretext]. They bring him to the bohenup and ask him to take the spell off the sick man. If he does not he is murdered in secret at a certain time. Perhaps the bohenup will say he is to be killed when the leaves come out on a certain tree.[39]

685 674 Neither among Yokuts nor Western Mono were there definite laws governing action or punishment for misdemeanors. Theft was practically unknown according to direct statements by informants, and none have ever been mentioned in anecdotal material. Food thefts need never have occurred as custom demanded the offering of food to anyone who came peacefully to one's door, and further, hungry poor were rare because of the chiefs' care for the needy.

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[36] See anecdote, p. 392.
[37] See anecdote, no. 2, p. 393.
[38] Kroeber, Handbook, 516.
[39] Gifford, field notes, 1915.

*161 the region and left a circumstantial account of his visit. Starting from Bubal, he approached the Telame area, reaching first the village of Gelecto, where ". . . encontraron no mas el cementerio: se habia destruido por las guerras. . . ." These wars apparently were raids and skirmishes in which refugees from the missions and [648] other Indian villages participated. From Gelecto the party went to Telamni ". . . al llegar alli los divisaron de Lihuauhilame el grande . . . done al dia anterior habian tenido una gran refriega cuyo resultado fue dar muerte a unos 8 hombres . . . ." The captain of the latter rancheria sent a messenger to Martinez with the report the place contained "como de 300 casados." Gelecto was one league from Lihuauhilame and since the latter village could be seen from Telame the distance between the two could not have been more than a league. Martinez then went six leagues south to Quihuama, before proceeding westward on the way home.

Lihuauhilame contained 300 married men, or heads [592] of families. The aboriginal social family consisted of at least five persons, and even after the disruption suffered from 1804 to 1816 must have amounted to four. The total population, according to this assumption, must have reached fully 1,200, with a probable pre-invasion value of at least 1,500. Martinez therefore gives us four sizable places: Gelecto (depopulated), Telame (minimum 800 according to Moraga and Cabot), Lihuauhilame (1,200), and Quihuama.

Subsequent visitors (e.g., Estudillo, 1819, and Rodriguez, 1828) mention Telame but give no data with respect to size nor do they specify any other rancherias in the immediate vicinity. For basic population data we are consequently forced to depend upon Cabot, Moraga, and Martinez.

In the discussion of Bubal mention was made of the attrition of population due to war and disease during the period following the first entry of the Spaniards in or about the year 1800. That these factors were very serious becomes even more evident from the accounts of the [648] Telame region. Martinez describes the total obliteration of Gelecto, which he ascribes to the "wars." Elsewhere in his report he refers to much internecine fighting among ● [578] villages and between natives and fugitives from the missions. Moreover, the Spanish accounts repeat ad nauseam the statement that this or that village was attacked or destroyed in the course of various expeditions, or that village after village was deserted by its inhabitants because of fear of the soldiers. It is highly probable that there is a great deal of lost history pertaining to the central valley during this period and that tremendous destruction was inflicted upon the native villages which was never recorded in the official documents.

*161 Hunger and disease were likewise rampant. Clear
165 indication of this condition is contained in the sentence
731 of Ortega, in 1815, with respect to Telame: ". . . encontrando esta grande rancheria toda desparramada por la mucha mortandad que havian tenido, y la much hambre que padecian . . ." With regard to the cause of the "mortality" it is clear that a part was due to the killing by the Spaniards and other Indians during the "wars," a part was due to famine, and very likely the remainder was due to disease. Although this factor is not specifi-
*161 cally mentioned, the word "mortandad" was widely em-
164 ployed by the Spaniards and Mexicans to connote the
173 effects of an epidemic. Furthermore, the absence of disease would be more difficult to explain than its presence in view of the wide intercourse between the peoples of the southern valley and those of the coast at a time when the Indians of the missions were dying by thousands

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom 115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts 789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier.

796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who 789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence 578 that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans 791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of 789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

come from there. If the old man was Hopodno, however, he was half Yauelmani Yokuts and half Shoshonean Kawaiisu (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518), hence was not a Chumash.

The old weather shaman, according to José, had to leave Fort Tejón because of the jealousy he created when the Indian Agent made him many gifts and praised him for bringing rain one summer to the parched wheat crop. The Agent had heard of the old man's power and promised him that if he could bring rain and save the wheat crop the old man would be relieved of his duties of irrigating the wheat fields. The shaman was not so easily deceived, so agreed only when the Agent promised him a substantial quantity of goods. The shaman produced a hard rain that fell all night. The rain was so heavy that the Agent became somewhat alarmed and went to the old man and asked him to stop the rain. When the old man obliged, the grateful Agent gave him blankets, money, food, and other items of value. The preferential treatment by the Agent made the various Indian head-men at Fort Tejón quite jealous, so the rain shaman left the fort and made his home at Kernville.

A weather shaman, José explained, was able to control the weather through fasting, by eating a certain amount of tobacco, and by isolating himself (inside his house, for example,) to concentrate on making it rain. Besides doing these things the shaman had a basket in which "rocks" and eagle-feathers were kept for use in bringing rain. The "rocks" probably were charmstones (Kroeber, 1924, p. 518; Latta, 1949, pp. 200-209), and the feathers were probably eagle-down, or string entwined with down. José never saw what the weather shaman had in his basket, because he was told that to do so would cause him to sicken and die. What José knew about the contents of the basket was what a friend of his had told him. José's grandmother, with whom he lived until her death when he was twelve years of age, also explained to him about weather shamanism and what was taking place when the young Kernville man made hail and rain fall at the Porterville fiesta attended by José.

José also attended a rattlesnake ceremony held at another time at Porterville, although he was too young to understand fully all of the details and the implications of what he saw. He asked his grandmother about these things, and she explained them to him.

When the doctors went out to catch their rattlesnakes, Jose's grandmother told him not to go, but with a little boy's curi-